6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

education of children, and self-control.[42] Generally, however, the clergy was unable to reach many of the Soviet-trained youth; in several villages the latter even objected to returning the church buildings to religious use, preferring that they should be used for Prosvita clubs.[43]

One of the chief agencies by which secular national concepts penetrated the village was indeed the Prosvita organization. How effective it was in general is impossible to say in the absence of more detailed evidence, but in some cases it evidently did at least provide reading material and some cultural contacts of a nationalist character. In this respect the rural teachers were especially important. There is considerable difference of opinion as to their effectiveness as propagators of nationalism, some observers feeling that they did an excellent job under difficult circumstances, others asserting that they lacked national consciousness and were imbued with Communist ideas.[44]

The great difficulty was in finding persons who were sufficiently educated and receptive to nationalist concepts to act as transmitters of propaganda. In the Podolian village referred to above, for example, the physician, who had been a UNR officer, played the chief role in stimulating nationalist feeling. He was greatly assisted in his task by his wife, the village *feldsher* (a sort of trained nurse or secondary category of medical worker); the priest described above; four teachers; and a lawyer. These constituted the "real intelligentsia" as compared with the "half-intelligentsia," consisting of the village elder, the village secretary, two cooperative workers, three kolkhoz directors, three agronomists, four bookkeepers, and three account-keepers, who were described as having "no unified outlook," being still "under the influence of Bolshevik ideology." [45] This criticism of the lower strata of clerical workers in the Soviet intelligentsia, which formed such a key segment of the rural population, is not uncommon in nationalist

[42] *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7.
[43] Iurii Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 18–19, 1942, p. 3.
[44] Cf. *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 18, 1941, for favorable reports; and Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), pp. 28–29, for some criticisms of the rural teachers.
[45] *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

871 191 256 During 1923 and 1924 several laws designed to provide elementary education for all children specified that this education was to be conducted in Ukrainian where that nationality predominated, and in the languages of the "national minorities" (minorities within the Ukrainian nationality — Poles, Germans, Jews, Czechs and so forth) wherever these minorities formed compact groups.[12] The laws outlined a series of practical measures to make this rule effective: teachers knowing Ukrainian were to be assigned to schools in which they were needed; text-books and other reading materials in Ukrainian were to be increased; pedagogical schools and courses were to be transferred to Ukrainian; pedagogical journals were to be Ukrainized; and all classes for teaching illiterates and semi-literates, except those for the non-Ukrainian minorities, were to be conducted in Ukrainian. Provision was also made for the obligatory study of Ukrainian as a separate subject in all schools being conducted in other languages.

These laws gave impetus to the process of Ukrainizing the "general" (elementary, incomplete middle and middle) schools; and the process was aided by the presence of many nationalists who had formerly opposed the Soviet régime but who had been pardoned and put to work in the Commissariat of Education. In 1923, according to a newspaper report, 47 percent of the general schools had been Ukrainized, while plans had been made to provide the Ukrainian pupils with Ukrainian schools by 1925.[13] During the years from 1923 to 1925 the realization of these plans was proceeding most effectively in the rural areas, where the largest proportion of the Ukrainian population was to be found. In the province of Kharkov, for example, 20 percent of the general schools in the school year 1923–24 were still using Russian and 49 percent were "mixed schools" — schools using Russian in some classes and Ukrainian in others; but 69 percent of the schools in the city of Kharkov were still using Russian exclusively.[14] A picture of the manifold difficulties encountered in this transitional period was presented by the district of Krolevetski in the province of Chernigov.[15] In 1924 instruction in the elementary schools was supposed to be given in Ukrainian; but a majority of the teachers hardly knew the language, and they actually used a jumble of Ukrainian and Russian. In the middle schools the situation was worse: a majority of the teachers not only did not know Ukrainian, but considered themselves exempt from learning it because they had been former

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[12] *Ibid.*, 1923, part 1, sec. 430, pp. 896–899; 1924, part 1, sec. 272, p. 801; 1924, part 1, sec. 300, pp. 932–933.

[13] *Visti* (organ of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Executive Committee), Oct. 28, 1923.

[14] *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1923; see also *ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1924. [15] *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1924.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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teachers in the gymnasium and therefore possessed "higher qualifications"; and these teachers showed "active or passive resistance" to Ukrainization. In this district, as in many others, the complaint was made that the schools lacked Ukrainian text-books and other such reading materials.[16]

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These difficulties were gradually being overcome. By 1924 the publication of text-books and children's literature in Russian had almost ceased in the Ukraine, and the publishing houses were concentrating on Ukrainian materials.[17] Ukrainian was being taught in all pedagogical schools and teacher-training courses.[18] The results of this step were apparent in 1925. In Chernigov province, for example, 67 percent of the teachers had mastered Ukrainian, and the proportion of Ukrainian schools — which then stood at 54 percent — was being raised as rapidly as the teachers who had recently learned Ukrainian could be transferred to the districts where they were needed.[19]

During 1925 and 1926 the whole process of Ukrainization was raised to the status of a "high-pressure (*udarnaja*) campaign." Attention was directed even to the *crèches* because, as one writer explained, the early years of a child's life are of the utmost significance in his linguistic development.[20] But a report from Chernigov in 1926 stated that the teachers were agitating among the peasantry against the Ukrainization of the schools; they were "striving with all their forces to discredit the Ukrainian language, to arouse the peasants to adopt resolutions against Ukrainizing the schools, and so on."[21] This was denied by the school officials in the region from which the report emanated,[22] but similar items of news came from other regions. One writer cited a specific teacher in the Don Basin: although she was supposed to teach the Ukrainian language as a separate subject, she could hardly speak it and she referred to it as "a terribly ugly and crude language."[23] Another reporter, again from Chernigov, produced evidence to illustrate the hostility of both parents and teachers: because of this hostility a region with an overwhelmingly Ukrainian population contained thirty-five Russian schools, one Ukrainian and one mixed school.[24]

[16] See *ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1924, Mar. 5, 1924.
[17] *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1924. [18] *Ibid.*, Oct. 28, 1923.
[19] *Kommunist* (organ of the Central Committee and of the Kharkov Provincial Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine), Mar. 21, 1925.
[20] *Proletarska Pravda* (organ of the Kiev Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine, of the Kiev Regional Executive Committee and of the Kiev Regional Trade-Union Council), Aug. 26, 1926.
[21] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926. [22] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1926.
[23] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1926. [24] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1926.

665 883 867 857 in the movies and the /126/ theater are "dedicated to the historic Party Congress". According to Proletarska Pravda of January 5, 1938, popular conversations "about the difficult life of children in capitalist countries, about the international youth movement and the forthcoming meeting of the Supreme Council of the USSR are carried on" at such gatherings.

●875 The teaching personnel in Soviet Ukraine consists largely of Russians and Jews. In the "pedagogical technical schools" and the "pedagogical institutes" in which educators are trained, the main emphasis is put on a sound knowledge of the Communist doctrine. It is obvious that in the process other subjects, such as language, spelling, history and the like, are neglected. If even in Leningrad "the struggle against illiteracy among the teachers is being intensified", (72)

72. Kommunistische Aufklärung of December 16, 1935, quoted from Richthofen: Bolschewistische Wissenschaft und Kulturpolitik /Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy/, page 75.

what may one expect to find in the provinces! In a single Ukrainian rayon 400 teachers had inadequate knowledge of orthography. (73) The profes-

73. Siropolko: The General Education in the Soviet Ukraine.

sion of the Soviet Ukrainian teacher is certainly [665] not enticing. The pay is very small; the village schoolmasters are often paid only in kind, and if they wander off into the factories and the teacher shortage becomes too great, the Komsomol sometimes comes to the rescue and "quickly mobilizes 50,000 members as substitutes". (74)

74. Kommunist of May 19, 1931, quoted by Danko; The Nation in Soviet Chains.